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APPRAISING THE ADENAUER MOSCOW AGREEMENTS

Report No. 217

Series No. 2

October 11, 1955

RESEARCH STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

AMERICAN EMBASSY

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INTRODUCTION

When the Russians originally extended their invitation to Chancellor Adenauer to come to Moscow, many hopes were entertained that all kinds of spectacular agreements would result - results paralleling those brought back by Chancellor Raab of Austria when he went to Moscow. After the "Summit" Conference at Geneva in July, however, the new "spirit of Geneva" was fearfully interpreted in West Germany as blowing cold air on their previous high hopes. Many newspapers speculated that the Chancellor would rather not go at all since he was supposed to feel that he had little expectations of coming back with enough to satisfy the population.

Even after Chancellor Adenauer's return with the promised return of the "remaining" prisoners-of-war in exchange for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Russia, many people within and without Germany speculated as to whether he had been forced into an untenable position, and hence had endangered his position in Western Germany.

This report contains the results of a public opinion study conducted in Western Germany and West Berlin in order to determine popular reactions and assessments of the Chancellor's actions. The survey was conducted between September 19 and 29, 1955. The findings are based upon a probability sample representative of the West German population 18 years of age and over, and consists of 797 cases in Western Germany and 304 cases in West Berlin.

Interviewing was conducted under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

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SUMMARY

Regardless of any possible assessment by professional politicians, there can be little doubt that in the mind of the average West German Chancellor Adenauer's Moscow trip was a huge success. Securing the return of the prisoners-of-war alone justified the trip, and exchanging diplomatic relations was a small price to pay. Indeed among those who realized that the agreement did not cover all POWs behind the Iron Curtain, recognition of the Satellite Governments was the means most often chosen to effect the return of the other POWs.

The other two most important findings are the large percentage in favor of direct Pankow-Bonn negotiations and the steadfast refusal to consider barter of the Oder-Neisse Territories for immediate reunification.

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Part I - General Satisfaction with
Adenauer and his Government

SATISFACTION WITH GOVERNMENT AT ALL-TIME HIGH

Popular satisfaction with Chancellor Adenauer's Government is as high today as it has ever been. Over three-quarters of the West German population (77%) said that they were satisfied with the activities of the Government up to now, while (about) one out of ten (12%) said that they were dissatisfied. Approval is back up to the heights registered in November, 1954.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's Government up to now?"

West Germany

	August 1952 (1195)	June 1953 (740)	July 1953 (625)	June 1954 (599)	Nov 1954 (654)	April 1955 (843)	Sept 1955 (797)
Very satisfied	11% 47	19% 58	18% 54	36% 72	34% 73	19% 41	25% 52
Fairly satisfied							
Dissatisfied	18 5	14 3	13 2	10 3	12 2	14 4	10 2
Very dissatisfied							
No opinion	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%

West Berlin

	April 1955 (302)	Sept 1955 (304)
Very satisfied	32% 52	29% 54
Fairly satisfied		
Dissatisfied	9 3	10 2
Very dissatisfied		
No opinion	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%

ADENAUER'S PERSONAL POPULARITY UP AGAIN

The prestige with which Dr. Adenauer is personally viewed has shown a further increase over the past year, so that now it is approximately back to where it was in January 1954, with about six out of ten (58%) assigning Dr. Adenauer "high" or "very high" prestige.

"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

West Germany

	Jan 1954 (309)	Sept 1954 (605)	April 1955 (843)	Sept 1955 (797)
Very high	} 61%	} 52%	} 47%	} 58%
High				
Fair	} 27	} 33	} 33	} 31
Mediocre				
Low	} 8	} 7	} 9	} 5
Very low				
No opinion	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%

West Berlin

	Jan 1954 (147)	Sept 1954 (149)	April 1955 (302)	Sept 1955 (304)
Very high	} 73%	} 56%	} 65%	} 68%
High				
Fair	} 17	} 33	} 27	} 27
Mediocre				
Low	} 8	} 5	} 5	} 3
Very low				
No opinion	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%

Part II - General Reactions to Moscow NegotiationsSection 1 - Knowledge of the Meeting

ALMOST EVERYONE KNEW OF ADENAUER'S MOSCOW VISIT

The extent of knowledge among the West German population of Dr. Adenauer's trip to Moscow was the highest yet recorded of knowledge of an important political event in many years. Almost every German knew of the trip and could name the Chancellor as the man who made it (94% in West Germany and 95% in West Berlin). This is one instance where the politically more alert people of West Berlin were no more informed than the population in the Federal Republic.

"Do you know whether a leading German statesman has recently visited Moscow at the invitation of the Russians? Who was it?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Yes, Adenauer	94%	95%
No, didn't know	<u>6</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%

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Section 2 - Reasons for the Adenauer Journey

RUSSIA CREDITED WITH MORE HONORABLE MOTIVES THAN SELFISH ONES IN
EXTENDING INVITATION TO ADENAUER

By and large the West German population advanced reasons for Russia's invitation which could be considered honest and honorable, such as

- Desire to create a friendly atmosphere
- Wish to establish commercial or diplomatic relations
- Desire to prevent war.

The main reasons given, implying a selfish or suspicious motive on Russia's part are

- Intention of winning Germany for the East
- Invitation is a political trap.

SUMMARY TABLE

<u>Honorable Motives</u>	<u>West Germany</u> 51%	<u>West Berlin</u> 61%
A. Specific Motives		
Establish commercial relations	9	23
Establish diplomatic relations	7	9
Make peace with Germany	4	3
Reunification of Germany	3	4
Return POWs	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	25	42
B. General Motives		
Create friendly atmosphere	18	11
Prevent war	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	26	19
<u>Selfish Motives</u>	29	49
Win Germany for the East	13	17
A political trap	10	18
Secure information from Adenauer	3	6
Get recognition for East Zone	1	6
Want Embassy as spy center	1	1
Forestall coming Geneva Conference	1	1
Others	-	*
<u>No Opinion/No Answer</u>	<u>28</u> 108% [@]	<u>10</u> 120% [@]

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"For what reasons, do you believe, the Russians invited Chancellor Adenauer to come to Moscow?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Honorable Motives (Specific):</u>	25%	42%
<u>To establish commercial relations with West Germany</u>	9%	23%
<p>"I think they wanted to come to an economic agreement with West Germany."</p> <p>"The Russians want to trade with us."</p> <p>"They need us as a trade partner because their economy has come to a standstill."</p> <p>"Above all, they want to enter into economic contacts with us, for Russia badly needs trade with West Germany."</p>		
<u>To establish diplomatic relations with West Germany</u>	7	9
<p>"They wanted to discuss the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with him."</p> <p>"To suggest and work out the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the two nations."</p> <p>"To make a first step towards normal diplomatic contacts."</p> <p>"To renew diplomatic relations."</p>		
<u>To make peace with Germany</u>	4	3
<p>"They wanted to make a peace treaty with him."</p> <p>"They want to contract a peace treaty."</p> <p>"They wanted to talk about a peace treaty with him."</p>		
<u>To confer on the reunification of Germany</u>	3	4
<p>"They thought a personal contact advisable to effect an agreement on the reunification issue."</p> <p>"They wanted to enter into contact with us and discuss the reunification problem."</p> <p>"They wanted to enter into negotiations on Germany's reunification; at least show their readiness to negotiate on the matter."</p>		
<u>To discuss the release of the prisoners-of-war</u>	2	3
<p>"In order to discuss the POW problem with him."</p> <p>"They probably wanted to talk to him about the POW issue."</p> <p>"Because they planned to release the German POW's."</p>		

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Honorable Motives (General):

To create a friendly atmosphere

	West Germany	West Berlin
	26%	19%
	18%	11%

"To create a friendly atmosphere, and discuss all problems personally."

"The purpose was to reach a German-Russian understanding."

"This invitation is in line with the conciliatory attitude the Russians displayed at the conference in Geneva."

"I don't know it exactly, but I would say the meaning of this invitation is that the Russians like to show that they can be conciliatory if they like, and that they are willing to give in now and then."

"The Russians wanted to demonstrate that they are better than their reputation."

"They want to get on friendly terms with us."

To ease the world tensions; to prevent another war

8

8

"I guess that the Russians want to ease the tensions in the world. That's why they invited Adenauer to Moscow."

"As the Russian-German tensions have increased the danger of war, the Russians are very keen on good relations with Adenauer because they want to prevent a war."

"The Russians make all these efforts in order to prevent war."

"Russia has to avoid war. It can't afford to use all funds available for armament."

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Selfish Motives:</u>	29%	49%
<u>To induce West Germany to turn its back on the West, and side with the East</u>	13%	17%
<p>"To try to separate us from the U.S., and win Adenauer for the East."</p> <p>"Maybe to shatter our strong ties with the West."</p> <p>"They want to push the Americans aside, and direct Adenauer's attention to the East."</p> <p>"The Russians want to build a front against America and the other Western countries."</p> <p>"Because they want to save Germany from the West and from capitalism."</p>		
<u>It is a political trap</u>	10	18
<p>"This invitation is only a Russian trick."</p> <p>"For political reasons, certainly not out of fairness."</p> <p>"This invitation was to demonstrate that they feel no antagonism toward West Germany, but I consider it only a trap. The Russians aren't honest."</p> <p>"All false pretences - the Russians never thought of talking about the reunification issue."</p> <p>"Maybe this invitation was only meant as a kite, to see how he reacts. They didn't expect him to accept the invitation."</p>		
<u>To elicit information from Adenauer</u>	3	6
<p>"To discover Adenauer's plans concerning his cooperation with the West."</p> <p>"The Russians want to find out Adenauer's opinions. They probably hoped to dupe him."</p> <p>"To get to know Adenauer's opinion on political developments in general, and on the relations between East and West Germany in particular."</p>		
<u>To achieve the recognition of the East Zone Government</u>	1	6
<p>"This invitation is a clever move toward the recognition of the East Zone Government."</p> <p>"Through diplomatic relations with West Germany, the Russians hope to bring the two governments of Germany together, then work out a peace treaty with them in the Russian line."</p> <p>"The Russians want to make Adenauer recognize the East Zone Government."</p>		

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>To establish relations so that their diplomats can spy</u>	1%	1%
"To use diplomatic relations as a means to get secret information, for diplomacy may as well be called spying."		
"What do you think they want to take up diplomatic relations for? - to get a chance for secret observations, nothing else."		
<u>To forestall the coming Geneva Conference</u>	1	1
"At Geneva they'll short cut the discussion on the German problem indicating that it has to be settled by direct negotiations between the Federal Republic, the Soviet Zone and the Soviet Union."		
"To have a trump card in their hands at the Geneva Conference."		
"To deal the Americans a blow by ignoring them and conducting separate negotiations with West Germany."		
<u>Other answers</u>	-	*
"Because the Russians wanted to negotiate with us, after all."		
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	28 <u>108%^a</u>	10 <u>120%^a</u>

* Less than one-half of one percent.

^a Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DOMESTIC REASONS CITED MOST OFTEN FOR ADENAUER'S ACCEPTANCE
(RELEASE OF POWS, REUNIFICATION)

The overwhelming proportion of the reasons given as to why Adenauer accepted the Russian invitation has to do with domestic factors - securing the release of the prisoners-of-war and hopes for reunification.

SUMMARY TABLE

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Domestic Reasons</u>	85%	114%
Secure release of POWs	42	50
Reunification	27	46
Help Germany	9	9
Show willingness to negotiate	6	9
Other reasons	1	*
<u>International Reasons</u>	29	36
Promote peace and understanding	11	10
Establish contact with Russia	10	14
Learn Russian intentions	3	1
Avoid antagonizing Russia	1	4
Establish trade relations	1	3
Other reasons	3	4
<u>Miscellaneous Reasons</u>	6	6
Avoid endangering his prestige	3	3
Other reasons	3	3
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	12	4
	<u>132%</u>	<u>160%</u>

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And for what reasons, do you believe, Chancellor Adenauer accepted this invitation?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>For Domestic Reasons:</u>	85%	114%
<u>To secure the release of the prisoners-of-war</u>	42%	50%
<p>"Adenauer wanted to do everything to achieve the release of the German POWs."</p> <p>"First of all, he wanted to settle the prisoner-of-war problem."</p> <p>"His idea was to discuss the fate of the POWs with the Russians."</p> <p>"He hoped to persuade the Russians to send the German prisoners home."</p> <p>"He wanted to discuss the repatriation of prisoners."</p> <p>"He went to Moscow in order to procure the release of the POWs."</p>		
<u>To negotiate about German reunification</u>	27	46
<p>"Because he felt it was his duty to examine every approach which might lead to the reunification of our country."</p> <p>"He hoped to take a stride toward reunification."</p> <p>"He wanted to learn what the Russian proposals for a reunification of our country are."</p> <p>"He didn't want to forfeit any chance of bringing about German reunification."</p> <p>"Adenauer wished to get nearer to our aim of a reunited Germany."</p> <p>"He wanted to clarify the situation, that is, by establishing personal contacts, he wanted to find out whether the Russians were sincere about their proclaimed desire for a reunification of Germany."</p>		
<u>To achieve the utmost for Germany through negotiations</u>	9	9
<p>"His idea was to wangle the best possible deal for us and to leave no stone unturned."</p> <p>"He didn't want to leave a stone unturned in order to accomplish something beneficial for Germany."</p> <p>"To land as favorable a deal as possible for West Germany."</p> <p>"I assume he intended to promote West Germany's interests."</p>		

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>To forestall West German reproaches that he was not ready to negotiate</u>	6%	9%
<p>"He couldn't have acted differently, for if he had he would have been charged with being unwilling to negotiate."</p> <p>"If he had refused to go to Moscow, he would have been decried as a coward; time and again he would have been told to his face that he alone was to blame for the delay in German reunification."</p> <p>"He had to do something for his people, otherwise he would have been blamed for having neglected his office."</p> <p>"He couldn't turn down the invitation as all political parties wanted him to go."</p>		
<u>For other domestic political reasons</u>	1	*
<u>For International Reasons:</u>	29%	36%
<u>To promote peace and understanding between the nations</u>	11	10
<p>"Because he is a peace-loving man who will do anything to promote peace."</p> <p>"He wanted to demonstrate that he is ready to seek reconciliation with the Russians in order to eliminate tensions and thus to avert war."</p> <p>"In order to serve peace and keep the present tensions from turning into another war."</p> <p>"To preserve world peace was one of his aims."</p> <p>"To achieve a relaxation of tensions throughout the world."</p>		
<u>To establish contact with Russia</u>	10	14
<p>"In order to initiate discussions with the Russians."</p> <p>"He wanted to bring about a rapprochement between the two parties."</p> <p>"His aim was the establishment of diplomatic relations."</p> <p>"He seized the opportunity to discuss all pending problems personally."</p>		
<u>To become familiar with Russian plans and conditions</u>	3	1
<p>"He wanted to find out what the intentions of the Russians are."</p> <p>"Because he wanted to find out what the Russians are up to."</p> <p>"I guess he intended to discover whether Russian proposals are aboveboard, or not."</p>		

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* Less than one-half of one per cent.

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>To avoid antagonizing the Russians</u>	1%	4%
<p>"He hardly could have turned down the invitation without provoking the Soviets."</p> <p>"It was an invitation, after all. If he had turned it down, the Russians might have been disgruntled and it's anybody's guess what they would have done in that case."</p>		
<u>To establish trade relations</u>	1	3
<p>"Adenauer wanted to negotiate trade agreements."</p> <p>"His aim was to establish trade relations."</p> <p>"Adenauer considers it necessary to expand reciprocal trade."</p>		
<u>For other foreign political reasons</u>	3	4
<p>"Adenauer wanted to pave the way for the negotiations soon to be held in Geneva."</p> <p>"He wanted to help the Germans in the East Zone so that they will have a better life."</p> <p>"To prevent those scoundrels in the East Zone from claiming he was unwilling to negotiate."</p>		
<u>Miscellaneous Reasons:</u>	6%	6%
<u>To avoid endangering his prestige as diplomat and statesman</u>	3	3
<p>"As a statesman he didn't have any choice. His prestige would have been lowered if he hadn't traveled to Moscow."</p> <p>"He couldn't turn down this invitation for diplomatic reasons."</p>		
<u>Other answers</u>	3	3
<p>"What else could he have done, I ask you? - he knew what he was doing, after all."</p> <p>"They had invited him, after all."</p>		
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	$\frac{12}{132\%}$	$\frac{4}{160\%}$

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



Section 3 - Handling the Negotiations

ADENAUER CONSIDERED A MORE SKILLFUL NEGOTIATOR THAN THE RUSSIANS

The esteem in which the Germans hold the Chancellor is clearly seen in the proportions (2:1 in West Germany and 3:1 in West Berlin) claiming that Adenauer showed more skill than the Russians in the course of the negotiations.

"In your opinion, who has shown greater skill in pursuing his aims during the negotiations in Moscow, Adenauer or the Russians?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Adenauer	34%	53%
The Russians	15	18
Both	7	13
No opinion	<u>44</u>	<u>16</u>
	100%	100%

OVERWHELMING FEELING THAT EVERY POSSIBLE TOPIC EXPLORED DURING THE TALKS

Approximately two-thirds of all West Germans (65% in West Germany and 70% in West Berlin) stated that there had been nothing the Chancellor had neglected to discuss in his talks with the Russians. Only one person in twenty (6%) in the Federal Republic and about one out of ten in West Berlin (12%) thought there had been anything which he omitted.

"In your opinion, is there anything Chancellor Adenauer neglected to discuss during his negotiations in Moscow?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	6%	12%
No	65	70
No opinion	<u>29</u>	<u>18</u>
	100%	100%

"PROBLEM OF REUNIFICATION" CONSIDERED MAIN NEGLECTED ITEM

"In your opinion, is there anything Chancellor Adenauer neglected to discuss during his negotiations in Moscow?"

IF "Yes":

"What do you think. Chancellor Adenauer neglected to discuss in Moscow?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>The problem of reunification and return of the Eastern territories.</u>	3%	7%
"They talked about everything except the reunification problem."		
"As far as I know, reunification didn't come under discussion."		
"As a refugee, I had expected that the fate of our homeland would have been discussed."		
<u>Conditions in the East Zone</u>	1	1
"Above all, he should have emphatically demanded the deposition of the East Zone government, and the forming of a new government through free elections."		
<u>Economic questions</u>	1	1
"He could have contributed much more towards the establishing of trade relations between the two countries."		
"He ought to have talked about economic questions."		
<u>The dissolution of the treaties with the West, the withdrawal of all armed forces from Germany.</u>	1	-
"How West Germany can leave NATO and the Western European Union."		
"The withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany."		
<u>The special position and status of Berlin:</u>	-	3
"He forgot all about Berlin. He should have discussed our future with the Russians. If nothing is done, they might impose another blockade on us."		
"The Berlin problem wasn't even mentioned. Adenauer should have told them how miserable life is in divided Berlin."		
<u>Other answers.</u>	1	1
"He should have demanded the names of those POWs who died in Russia."		
"He should have negotiated a treaty that makes all kinds of war impossible."		
	7% [@]	13% [@]

[@] Some respondents gave more than one answer.

POPULATION UNDECIDED WHETHER SPD REPRESENTATIVES WOULD HAVE HELPED

Almost equal numbers of people in West Germany felt that the inclusion of representatives of the Social Democratic Party would have helped the negotiations (27%) as felt that their inclusion would not have made matters any better (30%). West Berliners sided more with the Chancellor for a majority (54%) there said it would not have made matters better.

INFORMATION:

Chancellor Adenauer did not invite representatives of political parties to take part in the Moscow negotiations.

"In your opinion, would it have been better if representatives of the SPD had taken part in the trip to Moscow, or wouldn't it?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Yes, would have been better	27%	30%
No, wouldn't have been better	30	54
No opinion	<u>43</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%

SOME SAY SPD PARTICIPATION NECESSARY TO GIVE BROADER BASE TO DISCUSSIONS

"In your opinion, would it have been better if representatives of the SPD had taken part in the trip to Moscow, or wouldn't it?"

IF "Yes, would have been better":

"Why would it have been better, in your opinion?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because all parties should have been heard</u>	16%	15%

"Each party has its own aims and views and should therefore, have a say and take part in negotiations."

"It wouldn't be so one-sided if the others were also present."

"It would look like dictatorship if only one party would handle everything."

"Because all parties should have a say."

"The SPD is the second biggest party in Germany and should, therefore, be listened to."

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	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Because then the SPD would realize the difficulties and not criticize the results</u>	4%	5%
"So that they would have found out for themselves what is possible and what is impossible to achieve."		
"Then the SPD would have learned how difficult it is to carry on this kind of negotiations."		
"The SPD would have realized that Adenauer couldn't have acted differently. There wouldn't have been any reasons for complaining as they do now."		
"Had the SPD been invited, they wouldn't have had any reason for criticizing the outcome."		
<u>Because the SPD might have contributed to a more successful conference</u>	5	10
"Surely the SPD could have made some good proposals."		
"After all, the SPD is a strong party and might have gotten something out of the Russians."		
"Maybe something more could have been achieved."		
<u>Other answers</u>	1	2
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	$\frac{1}{27\%}$	$\frac{1}{33\%}$ @

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

OTHERS SAY SPD PRESENCE WOULD HAVE MADE NEGOTIATIONS MORE DIFFICULT

"In your opinion, would it have been better if representatives of the SPD had taken part in the trip to Moscow, or wouldn't it?"

IF "No, wouldn't have been better":

"Why wouldn't it have been better, in your opinion?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Presence of the SPD would have made the negotiations more difficult</u>	15%	32%
"Adenauer alone could achieve more. The SPD might have been of a different opinion and negotiations would have been endlessly protracted."		
"There would have been no success at all as the difference of opinions was too great."		
"Because the SPD always talks big at the wrong time and in the wrong place. There are no diplomats in the SPD."		
"In a case like this only one opinion must prevail, there must be no arguing from political party standpoints. That would have lowered our prestige considerably."		
"That wouldn't have been necessary because they would only have rejected everything."		
<u>Because these negotiations were a government and not a party-affair</u>	7	16
"The SPD isn't in the government, Adenauer couldn't have pursued his straight course if he would have had to listen to others."		
"What business would the parties have in that? That was the government's concern and not that of political parties."		
"Because Adenauer went in his capacity as the head of the government. There was to be no party-politics in Moscow."		
"Because that would only have side-tracked the issue. If I would quarrel with my father-in-law I wouldn't take the whole family along for peace-negotiations."		
<u>The SPD could not have done any better than Adenauer</u>	6	4
"No more could have been accomplished even if the representatives of the SPD had been invited to take part in the trip."		
"Adenauer together with party representatives couldn't have accomplished more than he alone did."		
"Adenauer is fully capable of representing the interests of all political parties and of representing German interests."		

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because the SPD's attitude is too Russophile</u>	1%	2%
"The SPD would stick with the East. They are a little bit on the 'red' side."		
"The SPD is too Russophile for my taste."		
<u>The SPD was represented by Carlo Schmid</u>	1	1
"The SPD can do as they like, Carlo Schmid took part in the trip and that's enough."		
"It was sufficient that Carlo Schmid took part."		
<u>Other answers</u>	2	2
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	<u>*</u> 32% [@]	<u>*</u> 57% [@]

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Section 4 - General Evaluation of the Conference

LARGE MAJORITY SATISFIED WITH OUTCOME

Approximately two-thirds of the people in West Germany and West Berlin (63% and 68% respectively) said that they were "satisfied" with the outcome of Adenauer's negotiations in Moscow. An extremely small minority (5% in West Germany and 9% in West Berlin) felt "dissatisfied".

"By and large, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the outcome of Adenauer's negotiations in Moscow?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Satisfied	63%	68%
Dissatisfied	5	9
Neither/Nor	20	20
No opinion	12	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

POW RELEASE OVERWHELMING BASIS FOR SATISFACTION

"By and large, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the outcome of Adenauer's negotiations in Moscow?"

IF "Satisfied":

"Why are you satisfied with the outcome of these negotiations?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because the prisoners-of-war are to be repatriated</u>	44%	57%

"Because as a result of these negotiations, many husbands and sons will be reunited with their wives and mothers."

"Adenauer has achieved his main objective, namely, the release of the POWs. That's what we Germans are most anxious about."

"Dr. Adenauer has accomplished quite a lot in that he gained the Russians' promise to repatriate our prisoners."

"It's undoubtedly a substantial success having procured the release of the prisoners after only such brief negotiations."

"One couldn't have hoped for more than what has been achieved, I mean, the release of the prisoners-of-war."

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	West Germany	West Berlin
--	-----------------	----------------

Considering the circumstances, everything possible was achieved

13%

8%

"Adenauer achieved everything he could possibly have accomplished in Moscow. I'm of the opinion that he couldn't have gotten further."

"As these were the first negotiations we conducted with the Russians, one couldn't hope for more."

"I'm quite sure Adenauer couldn't have accomplished more considering the stubbornness of the Russians."

"Because Adenauer has accomplished more than could have been expected."

Because understanding between the two nations has been furthered

7

10

"Through his skill Adenauer has mended the broken ties between our country and Russia. The mere fact that he succeeded in thawing the Russian iceberg can be put down as a plus."

"Contact has been established with the Russians in a friendly way."

"Because a certain rapprochement has taken place between us and the Russians."

"Because the two nations are on a friendlier footing now. It was announced that Bulganin will return Adenauer's visit."

Because Adenauer's firm attitude during the negotiations has helped to increase German prestige

3

6

"Adenauer has paved the way for a future understanding without compromising his dignity or impairing the prestige of Germany."

"This old man has managed to brave five days of negotiations without kowtowing, and still no door was slammed shut."

"Adenauer demonstrated to the Russians that he will defend his views. He didn't mince words, either."

Because diplomatic relations are to be established

3

4

"I'm sure the establishment of diplomatic relations will have a beneficial effect."

"The establishment of diplomatic relations has taken place under favorable auspices."

"I feel the taking up of diplomatic relations is quite a promising start."

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because the negotiations may pave the way for a reunification of Germany</u>	1%	6%
"There is some hope now that the zonal barriers will be removed some day."		
"This contact between the two parties may be a help in bringing about reunification."		
"A first step on the road towards reunification has been taken."		
<u>Other answers</u>	1	-
<u>No opinion/No answer/Irrelevant answers</u>	1	*
	<u>73%[@]</u>	<u>91%[@]</u>

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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THE FEW DISSATISFIED PEOPLE BRING UP REUNIFICATION

"By and large, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the outcome of Adenauer's negotiations in Moscow?"

IF "Dissatisfied":

"Why are you dissatisfied with the outcome of these negotiations?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
--	-------------------------	------------------------

Because no progress was made with regard to reunification

3%	5%
----	----

"Because absolutely nothing has been achieved with regard to reunification."

"Adenauer couldn't have acted differently, but the price for reestablishing diplomatic relations should have been our reunification."

"Because he stuck to the treaties with the Western Powers and consequently Germany will remain divided."

Because only a few concrete and positive results were accomplished

2	1
---	---

"It's a rather meager result, the question of the POWs would have been solved anyway."

"They got practically nothing out of it. It cost a lot of money and the small people have to pay for it."

"Adenauer didn't accomplish enough - and the Russians have attained their object."

Because the East Zone government has gained in importance

-	1
---	---

"I dislike the exchange of ambassadors because it means the acknowledgement of the Pankow government."

"I had expected that the Russians would drop the East Zone government."

Because there is not sufficient guarantee for the release of the German POWs

*	*
---	---

"He should have obtained their promise about the release of the POWs in writing."

"The Russians may be dishonest with regard to the POWs."

Other answers

*	1
---	---

"Adenauer hasn't brought our Eastern provinces back to us."

"I don't like the Russians. I'm sure that they want to get something for the release of the POWs, but what?"

No opinion/No answer

$\frac{*}{5\%}$	$\frac{1}{9\%}$
-----------------	-----------------

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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EXPECTATIONS FULFILLED OR SURPASSED

A further remarkable uniformity of opinion between West Germany and West Berlin is seen in the replies to the question quoted below. In the Federal Republic as well as in West Berlin, almost three-quarters of the people (73%) considered his accomplishments as much as or more than they had expected.

"If you consider what Adenauer achieved in Moscow, is that more or less, or just about as much as you had expected?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
More than expected	38%	39%
Just about as much as expected	35	34
Less than expected	12	22
No opinion	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%

AGREEMENT VIEWED AS MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO GERMANY THAN TO RUSSIA

While a majority viewed the outcome as equal in its benefits to both sides (53% in West Germany and 58% in West Berlin), one quarter felt that there were more advantages for West Germany. Only 5% in West Germany (and 11% in West Berlin) thought that Russia had gotten more out of the conference.

"For whom, do you think, did Chancellor Adenauer's trip to Moscow turn out to be more advantageous: For West Germany or for Russia, or was it equally advantageous for both, or did both derive equally little advantage from it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More advantageous for West Germany	25%	24%
For both equally advantageous	47	53
Both derived equally little advantage	6	5
More advantageous for Russia	5	11
No opinion	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%



Section 5 - Resulting Prestige

RUSSIAN PRESTIGE SHOWS SOME GAIN

While the largest percentage of the people said that nothing had changed (41%), almost a third (31%) said that Russia had gained "somewhat" in their eyes, and a tenth (9%) said that Russia had "gained substantially" in their opinion. A total of only three percent (3%) said that Russia had lost some or substantial prestige in their eyes.

"As far as you followed the negotiations in Moscow, has Russia gained or lost prestige in your eyes through its actions at this conference, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Gained substantially	9%	5%
Gained somewhat	31	34
Nothing has changed	41	50
Lost somewhat	2	2
Lost substantially	1	4
No opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%

WEST GERMAN PRESTIGE BELIEVED UP

On the assessment of West German prestige in the eyes of the world, public opinion was more positive, for fully a fifth (20%) felt that there had been a substantial gain in prestige. An additional quarter (23%) felt that there had been "somewhat" of a gain.

"Do you feel that West Germany has gained or lost prestige in the eyes of the world as a result of Adenauer's trip to Moscow, or has nothing changed?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Gained substantially	20%	22%
Gained somewhat	23%	27
Nothing has changed	32	42
Lost somewhat	2	1
Lost substantially	*	1
No opinion	<u>23</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

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ADENAUER PRESTIGE SHOWS THE GREATEST GAIN

Adenauer's prestige went up the most in the eyes of the West Germans as three out of ten (31%) thought that his prestige has gained substantially, while another three-tenths (30%) thought that it had gained somewhat as a result of the Moscow negotiations.

"Has Adenauer gained or lost prestige in your eyes through his actions in Moscow, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Gained substantially	31%	42%
Gained somewhat	30	28
Nothing has changed	26	26
Lost somewhat	1	1
Lost substantially	*	-
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%

WEST BERLIN AND WEST GERMANY IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT IN ASSESSMENTS ON THESE THREE PRESTIGE QUESTIONS

The extent to which opinion in West Berlin agrees with that in West Germany is especially worth noting. The people of West Berlin, being usually more informed and more opinionated, are more often more enthusiastic, or more critical, but in answering the above three questions the percentages saying that there has been a gain in prestige are remarkably similar to those found in Western Germany.

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

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Part III - Reactions to Specific IssuesSection 1 - Diplomatic Relations with Russia

LARGE, ALTHOUGH DECREASING, MAJORITY FAVORS ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

While two-thirds (66%) still favor establishing diplomatic relations with Russia, this represents a significant drop from the feeling in June 1955 when almost eight out of ten (79%) approved of the idea. Interestingly enough this decrease in approval of the idea should be viewed against the increase in the percentage of those with "no opinion" on the issue (20% had no opinion now against 12% in June 1955). In West Berlin, also, there was a decrease in the overwhelming majority which favored relations, and a corresponding increase in the percentage of those with no opinion.

"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>	
	June 1954 (599)	June 1955 (626)	Sept 1955 (797)	June 1955 (297)	Sept 1955 (304)
For it	58%	79%	66%	83%	76%
Against it	18	9	6	14	14
No opinion	24	12	28	3	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS MAIN REASON FOR ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS

"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

IF "For it":

"Why would you be for it?"

<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
-------------------------	------------------------

Because friendlier relations and understanding may be achieved

20%	31%
-----	-----

"Because then any difficulties arising between Russia and West Germany could be settled immediately."

"It's only natural to try to establish normal and amicable relations with a nation that is one's next-door neighbor."

"Because I feel we should maintain friendly contact with Russia."

"By taking up a matter and discussing it more will be achieved than if both parties remain doggedly stubborn."

"I would welcome it if we'd reach an understanding with Russia, and diplomatic relations will pave the way towards this aim."

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	West Germany	West Berlin
--	-----------------	----------------

Because the danger of war will decrease

13%

9%

"Because diplomatic relations would safeguard peace."

"Because a lot of things can thus be ironed out and even a third world war may be avoided."

"Because I think this may usher in a peaceful era as tensions which might lead to war can be eliminated."

"There is always hope that any possible difficulties could be straightened out in negotiations and thus war could be avoided."

Because it is a step towards reunification

8

31

"The establishing of diplomatic relations inspires you with a little hope that the reunification issue may be speeded up."

"Because without maintaining diplomatic relations reunification will never be brought about."

"There is a better chance to achieve reunification if diplomatic relations exist, as then the federal government can negotiate with the Russians directly."

"It would facilitate negotiating with the Russians about the reunification of our country. If we maintain direct contact with the Russians, the Western Powers can be counted on to do a little more for us in the reunification matter."

Because the entire prisoner-of-war issue could then be settled

7

5

"A German mission to Moscow might be able to find out about all German prisoners and deportees whose fate is so far unknown."

"I feel it's a good thing as it may lead to the release of all prisoners. One of my sons, who was declared missing might return."

"Because I assume that it may result in the release of more German prisoners."

Because it's necessary in the interest of Germany

7

*

"I think it will be a good thing for the German people as a whole."

"Because it's advantageous for our country."

"Well, I think it's vital for us to try to get somewhere with Russia."

Because it will benefit our economy

5

8

"It's important to maintain diplomatic relations in order to stimulate trade, and trade makes for friendly relations between countries at the same time."

"Because the East will be a new market outlet for us."

"The trade with the East was important in the past, and I guess it will be so again."

Because as a sovereign state we must have a representative in Russia

2

3

"Diplomatic relations are the basis of a well-functioning state, after all."

"Because we must become a full-fledged member of the community of nations again."

(Cont'd on next page)

Because it will contribute toward an easing of East-West tensions

2%

2%

"Because it will contribute toward reconciling East and West."

"Thus an end may be put to East-West quarrelling."

Because the refugees may be allowed to return to their former homes

1

1

"Because we all want to go back to our homeland, and if diplomatic relations exist, this hope may be realized some day."

"Perhaps this will pave the way for us to return to our former homes."

Other answers

3

2

"To refuse to establish diplomatic relations would be wrong, too."

"It would contribute toward creating a United Europe in the long run."

"Then we would get along, I'm sure."

No opinion/No answer

 $\frac{7}{75\%}$
 $\frac{1}{93\%}$

OPPOSITION TO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA BASED ON ABHORRENCE OF RUSSIANS AND COMMUNISM

"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

IF "Against it":

"Why would you be against it?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
--	-----------------	----------------

Because I do not want to have anything to do with Russia or with Communism

4%

9%

"I detest these scoundrels. The Russians will always make trouble."

"I don't want to have anything to do with Russia."

"We've gotten to know the Russians. Under a Communist regime all that people own is taken away from them."

"We don't want the Russians. They're dishonest anyway."

Because we have suffered too much at the hands of the Russians

1

1

"We've suffered enough already through the Russians."

"Because our experiences with the Russians were bad enough."

Because Russia has taken away our Eastern provinces

1

1

"Before diplomatic relations are established the problems of the East Zone and of the Oder-Neisse line should be solved."

"They won't return our Eastern provinces for all that."

(Cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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	West Germany	West Berlin
--	-----------------	----------------

Because Russia still retains our POWs and disregards human rights

1%	-%
----	----

"Because Russia has not yet released our POWs."
"The Russians have no regard for human beings."

Because Russia prevents Germany's reunification

*	2
---	---

"In that case reunification would be out of the question."

"The Russians will never agree to free elections."

Other answers

*	2
---	---

No opinion/No answer

*	*
7% [@]	15% [@]

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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IF EAST ZONE RECOGNITION INVOLVED PLURALITY OPPOSED - HOWEVER,
OPPOSITION HAS DECREASED

While a majority of those who favored establishment of diplomatic relations with Russia would be opposed to such a step if it meant that West Germany would also have to recognize the East Zone Government, this percentage plus those originally opposed to diplomatic relations is significantly lower than was the case in June, 1955. At that time a majority (56%) wound up as opposed to the idea; now, however, the percentage is down to less than half (44%). This does not mean that there is increased support for the establishment of relations under these conditions, but rather that there is now more uncertainty (41% now as against 25% in June).

"Would you be for diplomatic relations with Russia even if that would mean West Germany would in the end have to recognize the present East Zone Government, or would you under these circumstances be against it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	
	<u>June 1955</u>	<u>Sept. 1955</u>
	Basic Attitude	Basic Attitude
	If Must Re-cognize E.Z.	If Must Re-cognize E.Z.
For it	79%	66%
Against it	9	6
No opinion	12	28
	100%	100%
	19 = 19%	15 = 15%
	47 = 56	38 = 44
	13 = 25	13 = 41
	100%	100%

SEVEN OUT OF TEN WEST BERLINERS STILL OPPOSED TO RELATIONS WITH
RUSSIA IF EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT MUST BE RECOGNIZED

The people of West Berlin have remained solidly opposed to establishment of relations with Russia if that were to mean recognition of the present East Zone Government. As in June, seven out of ten, would under those conditions oppose establishing relations with Russia.

	<u>West Berlin</u>	
	<u>June 1955</u>	<u>Sept. 1955</u>
	Basic Attitude	Basic Attitude
	If Must Re-cognize E.Z.	If Must Re-cognize E.Z.
For it	83%	76%
Against it	14	14
No opinion	3	10
	100%	100%
	21 = 21%	17 = 17%
	57 = 71	55 = 69
	5 = 8	4 = 14
	100%	100%

OVERWHELMING APPROVAL FOR EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS

Considerable majorities in both West Germany and in West Berlin wanted the Bundestag to approve the agreement calling for the exchange of ambassadors (72% and 84%). Fewer than one out of ten thought that approval should be withheld (2% in West Germany and 9% in West Berlin). The Bundestag's later actual action, therefore, clearly had popular support.

"Should, in your opinion, the Bundestag - which has to vote on this issue - approve of an exchange of ambassadors between West Germany and Russia, or shouldn't it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, should approve	72%	84%
No, shouldn't approve	2	9
No opinion	26	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

UNCERTAINTY OVER AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS RUSSO-GERMAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS REPLACES MAJORITY CONVICTION THAT U.S. WOULD BE OPPOSED

In June 1954, a majority (54%) felt that the United States would be opposed to West Germany establishing diplomatic relations with Russia. Now, after the Adenauer Moscow journey, popular uncertainty over what America's attitude would be on the subject is seen in the distribution of percentages as shown in the following table.

"In your opinion, would America be for or against West Germany establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>
	June	Sept	Sept
	1954	1955	1955
	(599)	(797)	(304)
Would be for it	12%	23%	57%
Would be against it	54	28	17
Would not care	10	15	9
No opinion	24	34	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Section 2 - Release of Prisoners of WarCONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON WHETHER RUSSIA WILL REALLY RELEASE ALL POW's

There is an almost unilateral distribution of replies to the five alternatives presented as possible answers to popular expectation of the likelihood that the Russians will really release all the German prisoners remaining in Russia; i.e. roughly equal fifths chose the five categories. In Western Germany slightly more people thought it likely (40%) than believed it unlikely (29%). However, this slight tendency was reversed in West Berlin. There, while 39% thought it likely, 45% thought it unlikely.

"Do you think the Russians will really release all German prisoners still retained in Russia now, or don't you think so?" (IF "Yes": "Do you consider it very likely, somewhat likely or only slightly likely?") (IF "No": "Do you consider it unlikely or don't you believe it at all?")

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Yes, very likely	22%	17%
Yes, somewhat likely	18	22
Only slightly likely	23	15
No, unlikely	19	22
No, I don't believe it at all	10	23
No opinion	8	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

MAJORITY IS UNAWARE AGREEMENT RESTRICTED TO POW's IN RUSSIA

Only a minority in Western Germany (44%) and three out of five in West Berlin (61%) were actually aware that the agreement concerning the POW's applied only to those prisoners still in Russia, and did not apply to any German prisoners in the Russian Satellites. Almost a fifth (17%) in West Germany and a quarter in West Berlin (24%) definitely stated that the agreement did cover prisoners in the satellites.

"Does this agreement apply to all German prisoners retained behind the Iron Curtain, that is, those in such Eastern states as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or doesn't it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, applies to all	17%	24%
No, does not apply to all	44	61
No opinion	39	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RECOGNITION OF SATELLITE GOVERNMENTS CHOSEN AS MEANS TO EFFECT RELEASE OF REMAINING POW's

Those people who knew that the agreement did not apply to all German prisoners behind the Iron Curtain were asked to choose which of five alternatives they felt was the best means to effect the release of the remaining prisoners. "Establish diplomatic relations with the Communist governments" was chosen as the leading means - by a margin of about 3:1 over any other means.

"Does this agreement apply to all German prisoners retained behind the Iron Curtain, that is, those in such Eastern states as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or doesn't it?"

IF "No, does not apply to all":

"What should we do in order to achieve the release of all German prisoners still retained behind the Iron Curtain?" (CARD)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(797)	(304)
A - Recognize the East Zone government officially	1%	1%
B - Leave NATO, that is, leave the Western defense organization	3	1
C - Establish diplomatic relations with countries having Communist governments, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary	20	32
D - Extradite all non-German political refugees from the East on the request of countries behind the Iron Curtain	7	7
E - We shouldn't do anything	6	8
Other suggestions: ...	3	10
No opinion	6	3
	<u>46%[@]</u>	<u>62%[@]</u>

[@] Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Section 3 - Reunification

THREE-QUARTERS FEEL ADENAUER DID EVERYTHING POSSIBLE FOR REUNIFICATION...

Fully three-quarters (75%) of the West German population and even higher proportions in West Berlin (84%) feel that Chancellor Adenauer did everything possible in Moscow to bring about a reunification under acceptable terms. Only about one out of ten felt that he could have done more.

"Do you have the impression that Chancellor Adenauer did everything he could do in Moscow to bring about a reunification under conditions acceptable to us, or do you think he could have done more?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Did everything	75%	84%
Could have done more	9	12
No Opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%

ONLY SLIGHT CHANGE SEEN IN CHANCES FOR REUNIFICATION...

Despite the evident satisfaction at the outcome of the Adenauer talks in Moscow, there does not seem to be much change in public expectation of reunification of Germany. There is approximately the same proportion considering the chances "good" or "very good". The shift that did occur is in the direction from "bad" and "very bad" to the more neutral ground of "fair." This shift occurred in West Germany and in West Berlin. In West Germany the negative answers fell from 35% to 21%, while the neutral answers rose from 17% to 38%. In West Berlin the changes were from 40% to 31% and then from 18% to 33% in these same categories.

"As matters stand today, do you think that the present chances for a reunification of all of Germany are good or bad?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	April 1955 (843)	Sept 1955 (797)	April 1955 (302)	Sept 1955 (304)
Very good	3}27	3}26	6}38	4}32
Good	24)	23)	32)	29)
Fair	17	38	18	33
Bad	27}35	18}21	28}40	25}31
Very bad	8)	3)	12)	6)
No Opinion	<u>21</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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Another version of this same fundamental question asked for opinion on the chances for an early reunification as a direct result of the Adenauer trip to Moscow. Very few people (4%) thought that there had been "very much improvement", while an equally small percentage thought that chances had worsened. The overwhelming bulk (77% in West Germany and 91% in West Berlin) would only say that the chances had either remained the same or had "improved."

"In your opinion, have the chances for an early reunification of Germany improved or worsened as a result of Adenauer's trip to Moscow?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Very much improved	4%	4%
Improved	38	45
Remained unchanged	39	46
Worsened	3	2
Very much worsened	1	-
No opinion	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%

HALF IN WEST GERMANY, THREE-QUARTERS IN BERLIN SEE REUNIFICATION A FOUR-POWER MATTER RATHER THAN DIRECT RUSSO-GERMAN CONCERN...

West Berlin supports Chancellor Adenauer more strongly than does West Germany on the treatment of reunification as a Four-Power concern rather than as a direct Russo-German matter (74% as against only 49%). The extent of disagreement with Adenauer's view is about the same in both areas - 16% and 14%.

"Do you agree with Adenauer's view maintaining that the reunification of East and West Germany can only be achieved at a Four Power conference, and not through direct Russo-German negotiations, or do you disagree with this point of view?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Agree	49%	74%
Disagree	14	16
No Opinion	<u>37</u>	<u>10</u>
	100%	100%

"REUNIFICATION A BIG - 4 CONCERN SINCE THEY PARTITIONED GERMANY" -
LEADING VIEW OF THOSE AGREEING WITH ADENAUER POSITION...

"Do you agree with Adenauer's view maintaining that the reunification of East and West Germany can only be achieved at a Four Power conference, and not through direct Russo-German negotiations, or do you disagree with this point of view?"

If "Agree":

For what reasons do you agree with this view?

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because reunification can only be achieved if the Big Four consent to it:</u>	26%	39%
"As far as I know, the Big Four concluded mutual agreements about this very question, therefore all four nations have to consent to German reunification otherwise it will never come off."		
"Because I believe reunification can only be achieved if all of the Big Four go along, for they all keep our country occupied, as it is."		
"The Big Four must all take part in negotiations on a unification of Germany as they all are signatories to the Potsdam Agreement."		
"Because all four of the victorious countries have a voice in this matter."		
"The Four Powers cut up Germany at that time, Now they have to see to it that it's put together again."		
"The present situation is the doing of the Four Powers, therefore I feel it's their concern to get things shipshape again."		
<u>Because Germany alone is too weak to be able to hold its ground against Russia</u>	10	19
"If we would negotiate with the Russians on our own, they would force us to accept the present Oder-Neisse line, or they would refuse to go along on the reunification of our country."		
"Without the backing of the West we are not likely to achieve anything."		
"All alone Germany is not powerful enough to carry its point with the Russians."		
"America and England have a stronger position in negotiations. They have arms and atom bombs. They will help us."		
"Because then we wouldn't be alone and at the mercy of the Russians. I do not yet have enough confidence in the Russians to favor exclusive negotiations with them."		

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because a Four Power conference holds greater hope for success:</u>	4%	10%
"Four Power negotiations hold greater hopes for success, It's because these nations have more influence."		
"The Big Four are more likely to come to terms than if the Russians and we carry on exclusive negotiations."		
"It seems to me the word of the Four Powers has greater weight."		
<u>Because we are allied with the Western Powers and must not by-pass them:</u>	3	5
"If we'd proceed on our own, the Western Powers might wash their hands of us. We must abide with the West."		
"If we did that we would again arouse the distrust of the West and would antagonize them."		
"Because our ties with the West are too close to permit leaving them out of the whole thing."		
<u>Because Adenauer can be trusted to handle this matter capably:</u>	2	1
"I feel Adenauer is a clever man and I'm sure he will handle this affair efficiently."		
"I'm all for Adenauer, as long as he is at the helm of the state, I approve of everything."		
<u>Other Answers</u>	3	3
"Because one man alone cannot handle this problem, otherwise things would again be as they were under the Hitler regime."		
"Because the security of Europe as a whole is at stake and West Germany is only a part of Europe, therefore the reunification question cannot be separated from the complex of European security problems and dealt with alone."		
<u>No opinion - No answer:</u>	$\frac{2}{50\%}$	$\frac{2}{79\%}$

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ADVOCATES OF DIRECT RUSSO-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS EMPHASIZE
"REUNIFICATION A PURELY GERMAN CONCERN", "DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS
MORE PRODUCTIVE"...

"Do you agree with Adenauer's view maintaining that the reunification of East and West Germany can only be achieved at a Four Power conference, and not through direct Russo-German negotiations, or do you disagree with this point of view?"

If "Disagree":

For what reasons do you disagree with this view:

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because reunification is a purely German affair:</u>	5%	5%
"It's our problem after all. If we don't succeed in settling this issue, the British and the Americans won't do so either."		
"I feel this is the business of the Germans and the Russians only, for only they are directly concerned."		
"Why should we always consult others, I ask you? - we Germans should have more self-assurance and should act more independently."		
<u>Because more can be achieved through direct negotiations:</u>	4	4
"Everybody could see that direct negotiations are more fruitful. Just remember that Adenauer achieved the release of the prisoners."		
"Perhaps it will be easier to nail down the Russians in direct negotiations."		
"I feel that in direct negotiations a satisfactory solution could be found for the reunification of Germany."		
<u>Four Power conferences have always ended in failure:</u>	2	5
"So far nothing has ever been achieved at a Four Power conference."		
"Up till now nothing has ever come of negotiations between the Big Four. Perhaps some progress will be made if we talk things over with the Russians directly."		
"I feel that way because all Four Power conferences have failed so far. I don't expect anything from a new conference. If we go ahead on our own, we will accomplish more."		

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	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Other Answers:</u>	2%	2%
"Because I don't have overly much confidence in the Western Powers."		
"Because the East Zone government does not want the reunification of Germany under conditions such as laid down by the West."		
<u>No opinion - No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{14\%}$	$\frac{1}{17\%}$

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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PLURALITY IN WEST GERMANY FAVORS EXCLUSIVE EAST-WEST GERMAN
NEGOTIATIONS

Should the East Zone Government propose that reunification could be achieved if the Federal Republic entered into negotiations with it, a plurality of the West Germans would want Adenauer to accept the proposal (42% as against 24% opposed). Even in West Berlin, 41% would wish him to accept the offer.

"Supposing the East Zone Government would propose to us that reunification could be achieved by exclusive negotiations between East and West Germany: Should Chancellor Adenauer accept this proposal or shouldn't he?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (797)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Yes, he should accept proposal	42%	41%
No, he shouldn't accept	24	51
No opinion	<u>34</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%

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WISH TO EXPLOIT EVERY AVENUE MAIN REASON FOR APPROVING DIRECT
EAST-WEST GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS

"Supposing the East Zone government would propose to us that reunification could be achieved by exclusive negotiations between East Germany and West Germany: Should Chancellor Adenauer accept this proposal or shouldn't he?"

IF "Yes, he should accept proposal":

"Why do you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
<u>Because all possibilities must be exploited for reunification</u>	19%	25%
"It may be a way to achieve reunification and every- thing imaginable should be done to gain this aim. One should even temporarily banish doubts about the East Zone government because it has not been elected by the people."		
"He should try this approach, perhaps it will lead to success."		
"No stone must be left unturned in order to achieve a reunited Germany."		
"Adenauer must not pass up any chance which may lead to reunification."		
"One should at least listen to the proposals the East Zone has in store."		
<u>Because direct negotiations afford the best hope for achieving reunification</u>	10	8
"It's always better to conduct direct negotiations than to use an intermediary. An all-German confer- ence offers the best chance of settling the German problem."		
"Only Germans should sit down at the conference table. This is a purely German affair, after all, which we can best settle among ourselves."		
"We should discuss this matter among ourselves, for the East and the West Zone are two parts of Ger- many, after all."		
"An agreement could be reached more easily with the Yanks and the Russians keeping out of it."		
"Because there is no reason why we shouldn't come together. We are all Germans, after all."		
<u>He should accept under certain conditions</u>	2	3
"He should accept only on condition that free elections according to Western principles are held."		
"I'd be for it only if there was some hope of really getting somewhere."		
"If advantages are likely to accrue to us, then I'd favor accepting the proposal."		

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	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Existing tensions might be relaxed</u>	2%	1%
"Because I do not want Germany to live in a constant state of war."		
"Any agreement is preferable to war."		
"Then peace might at last be restored."		
<u>Through such negotiations the East Zone government might be ousted and replaced by a democratic regime</u>	2	*
"I believe Adenauer will succeed in toppling the East Zone government by seeing to it that free elections are held."		
"It will be easier for us to oust the East Zone government after such negotiations. Discontent over there is so widespread that the decision will come about all by itself."		
<u>Because the East Zone government is a political reality which cannot be ignored</u>	1	1
"One cannot pretend that an East Zone government doesn't exist, after all."		
"The people in the East Zone have a government just as we have, so we've got to negotiate with them."		
<u>Other answers</u>	3	3
"To appease the public, for they are all clamoring for reunification."		
"I don't occupy myself with politics, as a rule, but I feel that then everything would turn out satisfactorily."		
<u>No opinion/No answer</u>	$\frac{3}{42\%}$	$\frac{1}{42\%}$ @

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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REFUSAL TO TRAFFIC WITH EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT MAIN BASIS OF
THOSE OPPOSED

"Supposing the East Zone government would propose that reunification could be achieved by exclusive negotiations between East Germany and West Germany: Should Chancellor Adenauer accept this proposal or shouldn't he?"

IF "No, he shouldn't accept proposal":
"Why do you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
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Because the East Zone government was not elected in accordance with democratic principles, and, therefore, must not be recognized

10%	38%
-----	-----

"This government is not independent and will conform to the Russians' view."

"Because that's not a government elected by the people. They are nothing but political puppets and one must not have any dealings with them."

"This government has been set up by the Russians - therefore it's impossible to recognize it, that would be a blow for the whole of the East Zone and for the people of the 17th of June."

"If he did, he would thereby recognize the East Zone government and of that we would never approve."

"That would be the same as recognizing the East Zone government which didn't come into power by legal means."

Because it is a matter for the Big Four to settle

5	7
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"We may negotiate as much as we like - but it can't be done without the consent of the Eastern and Western Powers."

"That can only be done by those men who have brought about this sad situation."

"Because Germany's division is not our fault and reunification should be brought about by those who brought about the division."

"Free elections have to be agreed upon by the Big Four."

Because no agreement would be achieved, anyway

3	6
---	---

"The East Zone government would confront us with demands to which we couldn't agree without giving up our democratic freedom."

"That would lead nowhere since each side wants to have its own way."

"That's all nonsense. We've learned time and again that negotiations lead nowhere, and, besides, the East Zone government is determined to stay in office."

Because we must not go over the heads of the Western Powers

2	2
---	---

"Because we must not go over the heads of the Western Powers. Up till now we have acted in concert with them."

"That's too one-sided, all the Western countries would dislike this kind of relations."

"In my opinion that's also a problem which concerns the Western Powers."

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<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
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Other answers

4%

2%

"This proposal is a trap, the Russians make big promises until people believe them, and then they drop pretenses."

"Because West Germany might be seized by the Communists."

"I wouldn't know what such negotiations should be good for. The Big Four will meddle as usual."

No opinion/No answer

$\frac{2}{26\%}$ ®

$\frac{2}{57\%}$ ®

® Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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Section 4 - Relations with Russia and the West

RELATIONS WITH THE WEST CONSIDERED SOMEWHAT STRENGTHENED

An actual majority in all Western Germany (57% in West Germany and 61% in West Berlin) thought that relations between Germany and the West had remained unaffected as a result of Adenauer's visit to Moscow. Among those who thought that the situation had been altered, considerably more thought that ties with the West had actually been strengthened rather than weakened. The pertinent figures in West Germany are 21% feeling that ties had been strengthened as against only 4% who thought that they had been weakened. In West Berlin the percentages were 29% and 3%.

"Do you feel that our ties to the West have been strengthened or weakened as a result of Adenauer's trip to Moscow?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(797)	(304)
Strengthened	21%	29%
Remained unchanged	57	61
Weakened	4	3
No opinion	18	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

POPULATION DOUBTFUL WHETHER RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA HAVE IMPROVED

The West German population is evenly divided as to whether relations with Russia have substantially improved recently or not. Exactly two out of five (40%) thought improvements had come about, while another two out of five (40%) said that there had been no substantial improvement.

In West Berlin opinion was a little more negative. There two-thirds (66%) thought that there had been no improvement, while 30% thought there had.

"Do you have the impression that relations between Russia and West Germany have substantially improved recently, or don't you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, improved substantially	40%	30%
No, not improved substantially	40	66
No opinion	20	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



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Part IV - Future Issues

LITTLE EXPECTATION THAT FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE WILL REACH ANY MAJOR AGREEMENTS

Adenauer's Moscow journey has made no change in popular expectations for the coming Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva in October. In comparing present results with replies obtained in August (after the so-called "Summit" meeting and before Adenauer's trip), one can see absolutely no change. Now, as then, only about 10% thought there were likely to be any major agreements, while two-thirds (66%) thought that there would be no agreements.

"As you may know, the foreign ministers of America, England, France and Russia will meet again in October to discuss further the issues raised at Geneva, among other things, the German problem and questions of European security.

Do you believe that the foreign ministers will arrive at substantial agreements on any major issue, or don't you expect any major agreements?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>
	Aug 1955 (865)	Sept 1955 (797)	Sept 1955 (304)
Yes, will agree	12%	10%	21%
No, won't agree	66	66	73
Don't know	22	24	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

GENERAL UNCERTAINTY OVER NECESSITY TO PROCEED WITH REMILITARIZATION

There is a slight tendency among the people of West Germany to feel that there is less necessity to proceed with present plans for establishment of a West German army as a result of the Moscow Conference - 24% thought it was now less vital as against 13% who thought it more vital. The results from West Berlin are just the opposite. There 22% thought it more vital, while 18% thought it less vital.

"Do you feel that now after the Moscow Conference, it is more vital or less vital for us to go ahead with the planned inception of West German military forces?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(797)	(304)
More vital	13%	22%
Less vital	24	18
Just as vital as before	34	52
No opinion	29	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



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STEADFAST REFUSAL TO BUY REUNIFICATION WITH ODER-NEISSE TERRITORIES

In all three surveys in which this question was included over the past two years, regardless of the nature of events, a steady seven-tenths of the population in Western Germany and eight-tenths in West Berlin have indicated that they would rather do without reunification if they would have to renounce the territories East of the Oder-Neisse.

"Supposing Russia would demand as a condition for its agreeing to a reunification of Germany through free elections that Germany should recognize the Oder-Neisse line as a final Eastern frontier of Germany, thereby giving up the Eastern territories. Would you, under these circumstances, be rather for or against an immediate reunification?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Dec 1953 (601)	April 1955 (843)	Sept 1955 (797)	Dec 1953 (207)	April 1955 (302)	Sept 1955 (304)
For it	13%	10%	9%	13%	14%	12%
Against it	69	72	68	82	82	83
No opinion	18	18	23	5	4	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

APPENDIX

POPULATION BREAKS

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?"

	Satis- fied	Dissatis- fied	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	77%	12%	11%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	79	15	6	373
Women	75	8	17	424
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	75	12	13	650
Beyond elementary	85	9	6	147
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	74	12	14	80
150 to 299 DM	78	10	12	179
300 to 399 DM	80	10	10	200
400 to 499 DM	77	15	8	144
500 DM and more	82	12	6	142
No answer	58	10	32	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	86	12	2	52
Somewhat active	78	14	8	230
Remainder	76	10	14	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	77	9	14	35
Upper middle classes	82	10	8	207
Lower middle classes	77	12	11	437
Lower classes	70	14	16	118
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	77	8	15	86
25 to 34 years	81	9	10	180
35 to 44 years	75	13	12	166
45 to 54 years	75	14	11	176
55 years and over	80	10	10	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	57	34	9	128
CDU/CSU	94	4	2	260
FDP	90	7	3	30
Other parties	82	15	3	60
No party	67	12	21	186
No answer	74	4	22	133
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	80	8	12	24
Businessmen	81	9	10	64
White-collar workers	88	7	5	86
Skilled laborers	73	20	7	113
Semi-skilled laborers	77	13	10	88
Domestic service	78	4	18	23
Farmers; farmhands	86	7	7	55
Housewives	75	9	16	228
Not employed; pensioners, retired	71	16	13	116

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	<u>Satis- fied</u>	<u>Dissatis- fied</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	81%	11%	8%..100%	378
Protestants	76	10	14	392
Other/ no religion	44	37	19	27
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	76	12	12	629
Expellees, refugees	80	10	10	168
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	71	16	13	63
Lower Saxony	74	12	14	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	76	15	9	211
Hesse	84	7	9	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	86	-	14	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	79	5	16	110
Bavaria	79	13	8	148

"What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

	Very high/ High	Fair/ Mediocre	Low/ Very low	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	58%	31%	5%	6%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	58	32	6	4	373
Women	57	31	4	8	424
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	53	34	5	8	650
Beyond elementary	75	22	3	-	147
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	51	31	8	10	80
150 to 299 DM	53	35	5	7	179
300 to 399 DM	58	32	5	5	200
400 to 499 DM	49	42	5	4	144
500 DM and more	74	19	4	3	142
No answer	54	23	4	19	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	69	25	4	2	52
Somewhat active	59	34	4	3	230
Remainder	56	31	5	8	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	71	20	-	9	35
Upper middle classes	72	23	3	2	207
Lower middle classes	53	35	5	7	437
Lower classes	43	38	8	11	118
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	57	31	4	8	86
25 to 34 years	50	37	7	6	180
35 to 44 years	60	32	4	4	166
45 to 54 years	60	28	6	6	176
55 years and over	61	29	3	7	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	38	46	12	4	128
CDU/CSU	82	17	-	1	260
FDP	53	44	3	-	30
Other parties	59	28	10	3	60
No party	45	38	7	10	186
No answer	47	35	2	16	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	62	38	-	-	24
Businessmen	66	25	3	6	64
White-collar workers	71	26	3	-	86
Skilled laborers	46	42	8	4	113
Semi-skilled laborers	48	35	8	9	88
Domestic Service	52	35	-	13	23
Farmers; farmhands	63	29	4	4	55
Housewives	54	34	3	9	228
Not employed; pensioners, retired	65	21	6	8	116

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	<u>Very high/ High</u>	<u>Fair/ Mediocre</u>	<u>Low/ Very low</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	65%	27%	4%	4%..100%	378
Protestants	52	35	4	9	392
Other/ no religion	41	41	15	3	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	58	31	5	6	629
Expellees; refugees	55	32	5	8	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	53	38	3	6	63
Lower Saxony	57	27	2	14	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	59	29	7	5	211
Hesse	49	43	5	3	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	77	20	-	3	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	53	40	2	5	110
Bavaria	60	27	8	5	148

"In your opinion, who has shown greater skill in pursuing his aims during the negotiations in Moscow, Adenauer or the Russians?"

	Adenauer	The Russians	Both	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	34%	15%	7%	44%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	36	21	9	34	373
Women	32	11	5	52	424
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	34	14	7	45	650
Beyond elementary	32	20	7	41	147
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	30	11	5	54	80
150 to 299 DM	33	16	7	44	179
300 to 399 DM	34	16	8	42	200
400 to 499 DM	33	19	9	39	144
500 DM and more	39	14	7	40	142
No answer	33	8	2	57	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	39	17	13	31	52
Somewhat active	40	16	12	32	230
Remainder	30	15	4	51	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	40	20	6	34	35
Upper middle classes	34	15	7	44	207
Lower middle classes	34	15	8	43	437
Lower classes	32	15	5	48	118
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	41	14	3	42	86
25 to 34 years	28	16	14	42	180
35 to 44 years	33	17	4	46	166
45 to 54 years	34	14	7	45	176
55 years and over	36	15	6	43	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	23	30	10	37	128
CDU/CSU	47	9	10	34	260
FDP	44	23	3	30	30
Other parties	35	12	7	46	60
No party	26	17	3	54	186
No answer	25	10	5	60	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	33	17	12	38	24
Businessmen	36	22	3	39	64
White-collar workers	29	19	8	44	86
Skilled laborers	39	17	9	35	113
Semi-skilled laborers	30	19	8	43	88
Domestic service	35	9	-	56	23
Farmers; farmhands	33	11	13	43	55
Housewives	32	11	5	52	228
Not employed; pensioners, retired	37	17	8	38	116

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	<u>Adenauer</u>	<u>The Russians</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	34%	14%	7%	45%..100%	378
Protestants	35	15	7	43	392
Other/ no religion	15	41	7	37	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	34	16	7	43	629
Expellees, refugees	34	14	8	44	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	37	20	6	37	63
Lower Saxony	39	9	12	40	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	35	14	7	44	211
Hesse	24	20	10	46	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	28	23	3	46	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	28	15	6	51	110
Bavaria	36	17	2	45	148

"By and large, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the outcome of Adenauer's negotiations in Moscow?"

	Satisfied	Dis-satisfied	Neither/No Nor	opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	63%	5%	20%	12%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	71	6	18	5	373
Women	55	4	23	18	424
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	63	4	20	13	650
Beyond elementary	63	7	22	8	147
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	59	5	17	19	80
150 to 299 DM	61	4	22	13	179
300 to 399 DM	64	5	19	12	200
400 to 499 DM	68	6	19	7	144
500 DM and more	70	4	23	3	142
No answer	42	4	21	33	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	75	9	14	2	52
Somewhat active	67	6	23	4	230
Remainder	59	4	20	17	515
<u>Socio-Economic-Status:</u>					
Upper classes	57	3	29	11	35
Upper middle classes	69	6	18	7	207
Lower middle classes	62	4	22	12	437
Lower classes	59	5	17	19	118
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	60	7	20	13	86
25 to 34 years	62	6	20	12	180
35 to 44 years	63	4	20	13	166
45 to 54 years	62	3	23	12	176
55 years and over	66	5	19	10	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	55	9	29	7	128
CDU/CSU	77	3	15	5	260
FDP	64	10	23	3	30
Other parties	66	5	17	12	60
No party	59	6	19	16	186
No answer	45	2	25	28	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	75	4	13	8	24
Businessmen	67	3	19	11	64
White-collar workers	64	7	24	5	86
Skilled laborers	67	5	23	5	113
Semi-skilled laborers	59	7	21	13	88
Domestic-service	52	-	17	31	23
Farmers; farmhands	69	5	13	13	55
Housewives	57	4	23	16	228
Not employed; pensioners, retired	67	5	16	12	116

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	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>Neither/</u> <u>Nor</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	66%	4%	17%	13%..100%	378
Protestants	61	5	23	11	392
Other/ no religion	41	18	30	11	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	63	5	20	12	629
Expellees, refugees	62	5	24	9	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	53	6	30	11	63
Lower Saxony	65	3	19	13	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	67	6	19	8	211
Hesse	62	4	30	4	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	74	3	6	17	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	57	6	25	12	110
Bavaria	62	3	15	20	148

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"For whom, do you think, did Chancellor Adenauer's trip to Moscow turn out to be more advantageous: For West Germany or for Russia, or was it equally advantageous for both, or did both derive equally little advantage from it?"

	More ad- vantag- eous for West Germany	More ad- vantag- eous for Russia	Equally advantag- eous for both	No opinion	No. case
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	25%	5%	53%	17%...100%	79
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	31	8	51	10	37
Women	19	3	54	24	42
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	23	4	53	20	65
Beyond elementary	30	8	56	6	14
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	33	3	52	12	8
150 to 299 DM	22	5	54	19	17
300 to 399 DM	24	5	55	16	20
400 to 499 DM	24	5	59	12	14
500 DM and more	28	6	56	10	14
No answer	25	4	36	35	5
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	28	6	58	8	5
Somewhat active	36	8	48	8	23
Remainder	19	3	55	23	51
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	34	6	49	11	3
Upper middle classes	25	6	56	13	20
Lower middle classes	24	5	54	17	43
Lower classes	21	3	46	30	11
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	33	3	52	12	8
25 to 34 years	23	7	54	16	18
35 to 44 years	23	5	53	19	16
45 to 54 years	25	3	59	13	17
55 years and over	23	5	48	24	18
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	27	7	54	12	128
CDU/CSU	29	4	53	14	260
FDP	23	-	67	10	30
Other parties	20	3	65	12	60
No party	22	5	51	22	186
No answer	20	7	46	27	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	29	8	55	8	24
Businessmen	21	6	56	17	64
White-collar workers	34	7	53	6	86
Skilled laborers	31	6	54	9	113
Semi-skilled laborers	23	3	57	17	88
Domestic service.	22	4	48	26	23
Farmers, farmhands	33	7	40	20	55
Housewives	18	2	56	24	228
Not employed: pensioners; retired	24	7	48	21	116

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(Cont'd from preceding page)	More ad- vantag- eous for West Germany	More ad- vantag- eous for Russia	Equally advantag- eous for both	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	24%	6%	53%	17%...100%	378
Protestants	25	5	52	18	392
Other/no religion	26	-	63	11	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	25	5	51	19	629
Expellees; refugees	21	5	62	12	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	37	3	49	11	63
Lower Saxony	28	3	48	21	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	23	5	57	15	211
Hesse	17	13	63	7	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	20	-	51	29	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	21	5	51	23	110
Bavaria	25	5	51	19	148

"As far as you followed the negotiations in Moscow, has Russia gained or lost prestige in your eyes through its actions at this conference, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	Gained	Nothing has changed	Lost	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	40%	41%	3%	16%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	44	46	3	7	373
Women	37	36	3	24	424
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	41	40	2	17	650
Beyond elementary	39	46	5	10	147
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	37	33	1	29	80
150 to 299 DM	43	41	2	14	179
300 to 399 DM	40	41	2	17	200
400 to 499 DM	46	42	3	9	144
500 DM and more	41	47	4	8	142
No answer	23	35	2	40	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	46	46	6	2	52
Somewhat active	43	47	4	6	230
Remainder	39	37	2	22	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	40	46	3	11	35
Upper middle classes	42	45	2	11	207
Lower middle classes	40	40	3	17	437
Lower classes	40	34	2	24	118
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	41	36	7	16	86
25 to 34 years	44	41	1	14	180
35 to 44 years	43	44	2	11	166
45 to 54 years	40	40	2	18	176
55 years and over	36	41	3	20	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	43	47	3	7	128
CDU/CSU	50	34	3	13	260
FDP	37	60	-	3	30
Other parties	52	32	3	13	60
No party	32	48	3	17	186
No answer	29	37	2	32	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	50	38	-	12	24
Businessmen	36	55	-	9	64
White-collar workers	43	43	7	7	86
Skilled laborers	38	51	2	9	113
Semi-skilled laborers	33	55	3	9	88
Domestic service	40	30	4	26	23
Farmers; farmhands	51	27	2	20	55
Housewives	42	29	2	27	228
Not employed; pensioners, retired	41	42	3	14	116

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	<u>Gained</u>	<u>Nothing has changed</u>	<u>Lost</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	41%	38%	2%	19%..100%	378
Protestants	40	42	4	14	392
Others; no religion	33	56	4	7	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives.	40	40	3	17	629
Expellees; refugees	42	45	3	10	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	43	38	3	16	63
Lower Saxony	45	35	1	19	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	47	38	4	11	211
Hesse	34	55	4	7	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	48	29	-	23	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	35	48	4	13	110
Bavaria	32	41	1	26	148

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"Has Adenauer gained or lost prestige in your eyes through his actions in Moscow, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>Gained prestige</u>	<u>Nothing has changed</u>	<u>Lost prestige</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	61%	26%	1%	12%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	66	28	1	5	373
Women	56	25	1	18	424
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	60	25	1	14	650
Beyond elementary	62	34	-	4	147
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	56	18	3	23	80
150 to 299 DM	60	28	1	11	179
300 to 399 DM	58	28	1	13	200
400 to 499 DM	63	30	1	6	144
500 DM and more	69	26	1	4	142
No answer	48	19	-	33	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	65	33	-	2	52
Somewhat active	65	30	2	3	230
Remainder	58	24	1	17	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	57	34	-	9	35
Upper middle classes	69	23	1	7	207
Lower middle classes	57	30	1	12	437
Lower classes	58	19	2	21	118
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	54	36	2	8	86
25 to 34 years	60	28	1	11	180
35 to 44 years	64	25	1	10	166
45 to 54 years	62	23	1	14	176
55 years and over	61	24	-	15	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	53	37	2	8	128
CDU/CSU	73	19	*	8	260
FDP	67	27	3	3	30
Other parties	59	28	3	10	60
No party	54	32	1	13	186
No answer	51	24	-	25	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	55	33	-	12	24
Businessmen	59	30	-	11	64
White-collar workers	71	27	-	2	86
Skilled laborers	59	35	2	4	113
Semi-skilled laborers	59	32	3	6	88
Domestic service	52	26	-	22	23
Farmers, farmhands	64	22	-	14	55
Housewives	57	21	1	21	228
Not employed; pensioners; retired	66	23	1	10	116

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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	<u>Gained</u> <u>prestige</u>	<u>Nothing</u> <u>has</u> <u>changed</u>	<u>Lost</u> <u>prestige</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	60%	24%	1%	15%..100%	378
Protestants	61	28	1	10	392
Other/no religion	44	48	4	4	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	60	26	1	13	629
Expellees, refugees	61	29	2	8	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	52	35	-	13	63
Lower Saxony	65	22	1	12	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	66	24	2	8	211
Hesse	58	38	-	4	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	52	28	-	20	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	55	35	1	9	110
Bavaria	59	20	1	20	148

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"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

IF "For it": Would you be for diplomatic relations with Russia even if that would mean West Germany would in the end have to recognize the present East Zone government, or would you under these circumstances be against it?"

	For it if that means recog- nition	Against it if that means recog- nition	Against it un- qualified	No opinion/ unde- cided	No. o cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	15%	38%	6%	41%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	19	47	7	27	373
Women	11	30	6	53	424
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	15	34	6	45	650
Beyond elementary	15	55	6	24	147
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	12	28	5	55	80
150 to 299 DM	16	29	6	49	179
300 to 399 DM	14	39	6	41	200
400 to 499 DM	17	46	6	31	144
500 DM and more	16	51	6	27	142
No answer	4	25	9	62	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	15	62	10	13	52
Somewhat active	22	47	7	24	230
Remainder	11	31	6	52	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	17	63	-	20	35
Upper middle classes	15	46	5	34	207
Lower middle classes	14	36	8	42	437
Lower classes	16	23	5	56	118
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	16	40	5	39	86
25 to 34 years	20	37	7	36	180
35 to 44 years	16	40	8	36	166
45 to 54 years	11	35	6	48	176
55 years and over	11	38	6	45	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	26	39	9	26	128
CDU/CSU	10	45	7	38	260
FDP	17	50	6	27	30
Other parties	22	43	8	27	60
No party	15	27	5	53	186
No answer	10	30	5	55	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	25	38	4	33	24
Businessmen	13	51	6	30	64
White-collar workers	15	52	7	26	86
Skilled laborers	25	43	7	25	113
Semi-skilled laborers	19	32	7	42	88
Domestic service	13	30	13	44	23
Farmers; farmhands	16	27	7	50	59
Housewives	10	29	6	55	228
Not employed; pensioners, retired	8	44	4	44	110

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	For it if that means recog- nition	Against it if that means recog- nition	Against it un- qualified	No opinion/ unde- cided	No. of cases
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	14%	34%	6%	46%..100%	378
Protestants	15	42	6	37	392
Others; no religion	19	41	7	33	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	15	37	5	43	629
Expellees; refugees	14	41	11	34	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	11	62	6	21	63
Lower Saxony	16	36	4	44	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	12	39	8	41	211
Hesse	18	44	5	33	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	6	40	3	51	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	16	28	10	46	110
Bavaria	18	32	5	45	148

"As you probably know, an agreement has been reached in Moscow providing for the exchange of ambassadors between the governments of Russia and West Germany and for the repatriation of German prisoners still retained in Russia.

Should, in your opinion, the Bundestag - which has to vote on this issue - approve of an exchange of ambassadors between West Germany and Russia, or shouldn't it?"

	Yes, should approve	No, shouldn't approve	No opinion	No. c cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	72%	2%	26%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	84	2	14	373
Women	61	2	37	424
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	69	2	29	650
Beyond elementary	84	3	13	147
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	53	4	43	80
150 to 299 DM	75	1	24	179
300 to 399 DM	70	2	28	200
400 to 499 DM	81	3	16	144
500 DM and more	82	2	16	142
No answer	48	-	52	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	96	2	2	52
Somewhat active	80	3	17	230
Remainder	66	2	32	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	86	-	14	35
Upper middle classes	79	2	19	207
Lower middle classes	72	2	26	437
Lower classes	58	3	39	118
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	72	2	26	86
25 to 34 years	77	1	22	180
35 to 44 years	71	2	27	166
45 to 54 years	67	3	30	176
55 years and over	74	2	24	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	79	4	17	128
CDU/CSU	78	3	19	260
FDP	80	-	20	30
Other parties	80	3	17	60
No party	66	1	33	186
No answer	57	-	43	133
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	75	4	21	24
Businessmen	75	2	23	64
White-collar workers	85	3	12	86
Skilled laborers	80	-	20	113
Semi-skilled laborers	80	3	17	88
Domestic service	30	-	70	23
Farmers, farmhands	84	-	16	55
Housewives	62	2	36	228
Not employed; pensioners; retired	71	3	26	116

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	<u>Yes, should approve</u>	<u>No, shouldn't approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. o cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	68%	2%	30%..100%	378
Protestants	75	2	23	392
Other/no religion	77	4	19	27
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	71	2	27	629
Expellees, refugees	78	2	20	168
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	80	3	17	63
Lower Saxony	78	1	21	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	66	4	30	211
Hesse	80	-	20	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	74	-	26	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	78	1	21	110
Bavaria	63	1	36	148

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"Do you think the Russians will really release all German prisoners still retained in Russia now, or don't you think so?" (IF "Yes": "Do you consider it to be very likely, somewhat likely or only slightly likely?") (IF "No": "Do you consider it unlikely or don't you believe it at all?")

	Yes, very likely	Yes, somewhat likely	Only slightly likely	No, un- likely/ I don't believe it at all	No opinion	No. o cases
<u>West Germans</u>						
<u>Generally:</u>	22%	18%	23%	29%	8%...100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	25	17	23	30	5	373
Women	19	19	23	28	11	424
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	22	18	24	27	9	650
Beyond elementary	24	19	16	36	5	147
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	25	16	28	23	8	80
150 to 299 DM	20	24	21	27	8	179
300 to 399 DM	22	17	21	32	8	200
400 to 499 DM	26	16	24	30	4	144
500 DM and more	22	20	27	29	2	142
No answer	13	12	12	29	34	52
<u>Opinion Leadership</u>						
<u>Scale:@</u>						
Very active	21	21	25	31	2	52
Somewhat active	22	17	23	34	4	230
Remainder	22	19	23	26	10	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper classes	20	23	17	34	6	35
Upper middle classes	28	18	14	33	7	207
Lower middle classes	19	18	27	27	9	437
Lower classes	24	18	24	27	7	118
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	26	20	17	30	7	86
25 to 34 years	15	24	22	30	9	180
35 to 44 years	21	19	23	31	6	166
45 to 54 years	24	14	23	30	9	176
55 years and over	26	15	25	25	9	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	23	17	24	31	5	128
CDU/CSU	25	16	23	31	5	260
FDP	23	17	27	23	10	30
Other parties	35	27	11	25	2	60
No party	18	18	24	32	8	186
No answer	15	21	23	21	20	133
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	29	21	13	29	8	24
Businessmen	20	22	22	27	9	64
White-collar workers	20	20	17	40	3	86
Skilled laborers	20	14	27	33	6	113
Semi-skilled laborers	22	19	25	27	7	88
Domestic service	17	26	22	22	13	23
Farmers, farmhands	24	16	18	35	7	55
Housewives	23	19	21	25	12	228
Not employed: pen- sioners; retired	23	16	29	26	6	116

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(Cont'd from preceding page)	Yes, very likely	Yes, somewhat likely	Only slightly likely	No, un- likely/ I don't believe it at all	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	22%	17%	22%	31%	8%...100%	378
Protestants	22	19	23	27	9	392
Other/no religion	29	19	26	26	-	27
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	22	19	22	28	9	629
Expellees, refugees	20	15	26	32	7	168
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	17	16	14	48	5	63
Lower Saxony	28	22	16	24	10	154
North Rhine/ Westphalia	28	17	27	21	7	211
Hesse	18	16	26	32	8	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	28	20	29	17	6	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	12	16	32	34	6	110
Bavaria	17	20	18	34	11	148

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"Does this agreement apply to all German prisoners retained behind the Iron Curtain, that is, those in such Eastern states as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or doesn't it?"

	Yes, applies to all	No, does not apply to all	No opinion	No. o cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	17%	44%	39%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	16	56	28	373
Women	18	33	49	424
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	16	41	43	650
Beyond elementary	20	57	23	147
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	19	32	49	80
150 to 299 DM	19	38	43	179
300 to 399 DM	16	44	40	200
400 to 499 DM	15	57	28	144
500 DM and more	20	48	32	142
No answer	13	27	60	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	17	66	17	52
Somewhat active	15	58	27	230
Remainder	18	35	47	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	23	48	29	35
Upper middle classes	20	50	30	207
Lower middle classes	16	43	41	437
Lower classes	14	34	52	118
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	20	46	34	86
25 to 34 years	18	48	34	180
35 to 44 years	17	46	37	166
45 to 54 years	18	42	40	176
55 years and over	15	37	48	182
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	17	55	28	128
CDU/CSU	20	45	35	260
FDP	17	70	13	30
Other parties	12	53	35	60
No party	16	38	46	186
No answer	15	29	56	133
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	25	46	29	24
Businessmen	17	47	36	64
White-collar workers	16	58	26	86
Skilled laborers	13	63	24	113
Semi-skilled laborers	19	45	36	88
Domestic service	26	22	52	23
Farmers, farmhands	11	40	49	55
Housewives	18	31	51	228
Not employed; pensioners; retired	18	41	41	116

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	<u>Yes, applies to all</u>	<u>No, does not apply to all</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	18%	38%	44%...100%	378
Protestants	16	49	35	392
Other/no religion	22	48	30	27
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	18	41	41	629
Expellees, refugees	13	54	33	168
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	14	62	24	63
Lower Saxony	16	45	39	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	18	44	38	211
Hesse	16	63	21	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	12	31	57	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	25	35	40	110
Bavaria	14	33	53	148

"Do you have the impression that Chancellor Adenauer did everything he could do in Moscow to bring about a reunification under conditions acceptable to us, or do you think he could have done more?"

	Did every- thing	Could have done more	No opinion	No. 1 case
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	75%	9%	16%..100%	79
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	78	12	10	37
Women	73	7	20	42
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	74	8	18	65
Beyond elementary	80	14	6	14
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	65	12	23	8
150 to 299 DM	76	9	15	17
300 to 399 DM	73	8	19	20
400 to 499 DM	76	12	12	14
500 DM and more	85	9	6	14
No answer	63	4	33	5
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	90	8	2	5
Somewhat active	78	13	9	23
Remainder	72	8	20	51
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	77	14	9	3
Upper middle classes	83	9	8	20
Lower middle classes	73	10	17	43
Lower classes	67	6	27	11
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	72	12	16	8
25 to 34 years	77	9	14	18
35 to 44 years	77	8	15	16
45 to 54 years	75	8	17	17
55 years and over	73	11	16	18
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	64	18	18	12
CDU/CSU	89	3	8	26
FDP	77	20	3	3
Other parties	77	15	8	6
No party	70	10	20	18
No answer	65	6	29	13
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	88	12	-	2
Businessmen	86	3	11	6
White-collar workers	85	12	3	8
Skilled laborers	75	10	15	11
Semi-skilled laborers	75	10	15	8
Domestic service	69	9	22	2
Farmers, farmhands	71	11	18	5
Housewives	69	7	24	22
Not employed; pensioners; retired	76	11	13	11

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	<u>Did every- thing</u>	<u>Could have done more</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	74%	10%	16%..100%	378
Protestants	78	7	15	392
Other/no religion	55	30	15	27
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	75	10	15	629
Expellees, refugees	75	8	17	168
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	67	16	17	63
Lower Saxony	79	5	16	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	73	10	17	211
Hesse	80	9	11	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	93	3	14	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	73	14	13	110
Bavaria	74	7	19	148

"As matters stand today, do you think that the present chances for a reunification of all of Germany are good or bad?"

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	26%	38%	21%	15%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	27	40	26	7	373
Women	26	36	16	22	424
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	26	38	18	18	650
Beyond elementary	29	33	33	5	147
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	21	39	20	20	80
150 to 299 DM	29	40	18	13	179
300 to 399 DM	28	33	23	16	200
400 to 499 DM	25	42	19	14	144
500 DM and more	26	39	27	8	142
No answer	19	33	13	35	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u>					
Very active	25	44	31	-	52
Somewhat active	29	39	24	8	230
Remainder	25	36	19	20	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	29	31	31	9	35
Upper middle classes	25	40	22	13	207
Lower middle classes	28	35	20	17	437
Lower classes	24	42	18	16	118
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	31	40	16	13	86
25 to 34 years	24	40	22	14	180
35 to 44 years	25	34	27	14	166
45 to 54 years	26	36	23	15	176
55 years and over	26	40	15	19	183
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	24	43	28	5	128
CDU/CSU	36	36	18	10	260
FDP	20	57	20	3	30
Other parties	27	37	23	13	60
No party	19	39	23	19	186
No answer	20	29	17	34	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	42	21	29	8	24
Businessmen	22	36	30	12	64
White-collar workers	26	32	37	5	86
Skilled laborers	22	45	23	10	113
Semi-skilled laborers	26	42	23	9	88
Domestic service	22	26	35	17	23
Farmers, farmhands	24	45	13	18	55
Housewives	26	37	14	23	228
Not employed; pensioners; retired	33	34	14	19	116

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	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	29%	34%	19%	18%..100%	378
Protestants	24	41	22	13	392
Other/no religion	18	41	30	11	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	27	37	20	16	629
Expellees, refugees	23	40	26	11	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	27	35	22	16	63
Lower Saxony	25	34	21	20	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	27	42	21	10	211
Hesse	21	42	29	8	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	43	37	9	11	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	25	43	20	12	110
Bavaria	26	30	20	24	148

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"In your opinion, have the chances for an early reunification of Germany improved or worsened as a result of Adenauer's trip to Moscow?"

	<u>Improved</u>	<u>Remained unchanged</u>	<u>Worsened</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	42%	39%	4%	15% . . 100%	79
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	44	43	5	8	37
Women	40	36	3	21	42
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	40	38	4	18	69
Beyond elementary	46	44	5	5	14
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	45	34	1	20	8
150 to 299 DM	36	43	4	17	17
300 to 399 DM	40	42	4	14	20
400 to 499 DM	44	39	5	12	14
500 DM and more	49	41	3	7	14
No answer	31	25	6	38	5
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	52	38	10	-	5
Somewhat active	48	40	6	6	23
Remainder	37	39	3	21	51
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	48	40	3	9	3
Upper middle classes	47	41	2	10	20
Lower middle classes	39	41	5	15	43
Lower classes	37	35	2	26	11
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	44	37	3	16	8
25 to 34 years	42	43	3	12	18
35 to 44 years	35	43	5	17	16
45 to 54 years	42	40	6	12	17
55 years and over	47	33	2	18	18
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	35	42	11	12	12
CDU/CSU	51	37	2	10	26
FDP	50	47	-	3	3
Other parties	57	28	5	10	6
No party	31	47	4	18	18
No answer	33	36	1	30	13
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	63	29	-	8	2
Businessmen	42	44	-	14	6
White-collar workers	36	57	6	1	8
Skilled laborers	40	46	5	9	11
Semi-skilled laborers	39	40	8	13	8
Domestic service	17	57	4	22	2
Farmers, farmhands	40	40	-	20	5
Housewives	42	32	3	23	22
Not employed; pensioners; retired	48	32	3	17	11

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	<u>Improved</u>	<u>Remained unchanged</u>	<u>Worsened</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42%	37%	3%	18%..100%
Protestants	40	42	5	13
Other/no religion	33	45	7	15
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	41	40	4	15
Expellees, refugees	42	40	4	14
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	39	46	2	13
Lower Saxony	46	33	2	19
North Rhine/Westphalia	40	40	7	13
Hesse	33	60	4	3
Rhineland/Palatinate	49	31	-	20
Wuerttemberg/Baden	37	46	3	14
Bavaria	44	29	4	23

"Do you agree with Adenauer's view maintaining that the reunification of East and West Germany can only be achieved at a Four Power conference, and not through direct Russo-German negotiations, or do you disagree with this point of view?"

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	49%	14%	37%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	61	17	22	373
Women	39	10	51	424
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	46	13	41	650
Beyond elementary	65	13	22	147
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	34	10	56	80
150 to 299 DM	45	13	42	179
300 to 399 DM	51	11	38	200
400 to 499 DM	54	17	29	144
500 DM and more	65	14	21	142
No answer	27	12	61	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	80	12	8	52
Somewhat active	55	22	23	230
Remainder	44	9	47	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	69	17	14	35
Upper middle classes	61	12	27	207
Lower middle classes	48	14	38	437
Lower classes	28	13	59	118
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	50	14	36	86
25 to 34 years	50	17	33	180
35 to 44 years	53	13	34	166
45 to 54 years	48	17	35	176
55 years and over	46	7	47	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	51	23	26	128
CDU/CSU	61	10	29	260
FDP	57	13	30	30
Other parties	48	22	30	60
No party	44	11	45	186
No answer	33	8	59	133
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	54	21	25	24
Businessmen	56	16	28	64
White-collar workers	61	15	24	86
Skilled laborers	59	18	23	113
Semi-skilled laborers	49	15	36	88
Domestic service	44	4	52	23
Farmers, farmhands	60	11	29	55
Housewives	38	10	52	228
Not employed; pensioners; retired	47	13	40	116

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	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	47%	12%	41%..100%	378
Protestants	50	14	36	392
Other/no religion	63	15	22	27
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	50	12	38	629
Expellees, refugees	48	16	36	168
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	67	14	19	63
Lower Saxony	42	15	43	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	47	16	37	211
Hesse	57	17	26	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	37	6	57	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	51	12	37	110
Bavaria	51	7	42	148

"Supposing the East Zone government would propose to us that reunification could be achieved by exclusive negotiations between East Germany and West Germany: Should Chancellor Adenauer accept this proposal or shouldn't he?"

	Yes, he should accept proposal	No, he shouldn't accept proposal	No opinion	No. case
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	42%	24%	34%..100%	79
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	50	31	19	37
Women	35	19	46	42
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	40	23	37	65
Beyond elementary	48	31	21	14
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	36	14	50	8
150 to 299 DM	37	26	37	17
300 to 399 DM	40	24	36	20
400 to 499 DM	46	32	22	14
500 DM and more	49	27	24	14
No answer	38	12	50	5
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	58	35	7	5
Somewhat active	53	29	18	23
Remainder	35	22	43	51
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	40	34	26	3
Upper middle classes	46	31	23	20
Lower middle classes	42	22	36	43
Lower classes	32	21	47	11
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	40	25	35	8
25 to 34 years	48	23	29	18
35 to 44 years	44	24	32	16
45 to 54 years	40	27	33	17
55 years and over	37	23	40	18
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	66	19	15	12
CDU/CSU	38	32	30	26
FDP	43	37	20	3
Other parties	38	27	35	6
No party	37	20	43	18
No answer	35	17	48	13
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	42	21	37	2
Businessmen	40	30	30	6
White-collar workers	46	35	19	8
Skilled laborers	53	33	14	11
Semi-skilled laborers	49	25	26	8
Domestic service	17	17	66	2
Farmers, farmhands	49	20	31	5
Housewives	34	18	48	22
Not employed; pensioners; retired	40	23	37	11

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	<u>Yes, he should</u> <u>accept proposal</u>	<u>No, he shouldn't</u> <u>accept proposal</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42%	21%	31%..100%	378
Protestants	41	25	34	392
Other/no religion	63	15	22	27
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	42	23	35	629
Expellees, refugees	41	29	30	168
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	59	21	20	63
Lower Saxony	36	21	43	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	44	25	31	211
Hesse	53	31	16	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	23	26	51	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	36	28	36	110
Bavaria	41	22	37	148

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"As you may know, the foreign ministers of America, England, France and Russia will meet again in October to discuss further the issues raised at Geneva, among other things, the German problem and questions of European security.

Do you believe that the foreign ministers will arrive at substantial agreements on any major issue, or don't you expect any major agreements?

	<u>Yes, will agree</u>	<u>No, won't agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	10%	66%	24%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	12	70	18	373
Women	9	62	29	424
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	11	63	26	650
Beyond elementary	10	78	12	147
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	14	58	28	80
150 to 299 DM	12	61	27	179
300 to 399 DM	9	66	25	200
400 to 499 DM	8	73	19	144
500 DM and more	13	75	12	142
No answer	8	46	46	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	12	82	6	52
Somewhat active	11	73	16	230
Remainder	10	61	29	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	11	75	14	35
Upper middle classes	12	73	15	207
Lower middle classes	9	64	27	437
Lower classes	13	56	31	118
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	13	61	26	86
25 to 34 years	11	70	19	180
35 to 44 years	11	67	22	166
45 to 54 years	8	70	22	176
55 years and over	11	59	30	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	9	72	19	128
CDU/CSU	14	66	20	260
FDP	20	70	10	30
Other parties	15	73	12	60
No party	6	68	26	186
No answer	7	52	41	133
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	17	54	29	24
Businessmen	6	75	19	64
White-collar workers	9	83	8	86
Skilled laborers	9	71	20	113
Semi-skilled laborers	14	60	26	88
Domestic service	9	69	22	23
Farmers, farmhands	11	58	31	55
Housewives	10	60	30	228
Not employed; pensioners; retired	14	64	22	116

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	<u>Yes, will agree</u>	<u>No, won't agree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	12	62	26..100%	378
Protestants	9	69	22	392
Other/no religion	19	62	19	27
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	11	64	25	629
Expellees, refugees	9	73	18	168
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	5	85	10	63
Lower Saxony	8	63	29	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	13	60	27	211
Hesse	7	80	13	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	11	58	31	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	13	59	28	110
Bavaria	12	68	20	148

"Do you feel that now after the Moscow conference, it is more vital or less vital for us to go ahead with the planned inception of West German military forces?"

	More vital	Less vital	Just as vital as before	No opinion	No. cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	13%	24%	34%	29%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	16	28	41	15	373
Women	10	21	28	41	424
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	11	24	33	32	650
Beyond elementary	18	26	40	16	147
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	14	16	25	45	80
150 to 299 DM	17	23	28	32	179
300 to 399 DM	8	26	33	33	200
400 to 499 DM	17	26	38	19	144
500 DM and more	11	29	44	16	142
No answer	0	19	31	42	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>					
Very active	17	27	54	2	52
Somewhat active	16	35	35	14	230
Remainder	11	19	31	39	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper classes	11	23	52	14	35
Upper middle classes	14	23	42	21	207
Lower middle classes	12	27	30	31	437
Lower classes	14	19	25	42	118
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	14	24	36	26	86
25 to 34 years	6	31	39	24	180
35 to 44 years	13	27	32	28	166
45 to 54 years	15	20	34	31	176
55 years and over	16	19	30	35	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	11	49	24	16	128
CDU/CSU	17	18	45	20	260
FDP	20	23	37	20	30
Other parties	13	33	32	22	60
No party	12	21	30	37	186
No answer	5	14	29	52	133
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	4	29	46	21	24
Businessmen	14	22	39	25	64
White-collar workers	12	26	41	21	86
Skilled laborers	12	33	38	17	113
Semi-skilled laborers	18	26	31	25	88
Domestic service	13	22	39	26	23
Farmers, farmhands	13	25	31	31	55
Housewives	9	21	29	41	228
Not employed; pensioners; retired	18	22	31	29	116

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	<u>More vital</u>	<u>Less vital</u>	<u>Just as vital as before</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	12%	23%	31%	31%..100%	378
Protestants	14	24	35	27	392
Other/no religion	-	52	22	26	27
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	10	25	35	30	629
Expellees, refugees	24	20	32	24	168
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	11	30	43	16	63
Lower Saxony	21	25	18	36	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	10	24	40	26	211
Hesse	9	25	42	24	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	9	20	31	40	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	18	19	33	30	110
Bavaria	7	26	35	32	148

"Supposing Russia would demand as a condition for its agreeing to a reunification of Germany through free elections that Germany should recognize the Oder-Neisse line as a final Eastern frontier of Germany, thereby giving up the Eastern territories. Would you, under these circumstances, be rather for or rather against an immediate reunification?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally</u>	9%	68%	23%..100%	797
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	11	76	13	373
Women	7	62	31	424
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	7	68	25	650
Beyond elementary	17	72	11	147
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	7	58	35	80
150 to 299 DM	8	67	25	179
300 to 399 DM	7	70	23	200
400 to 499 DM	9	76	15	144
500 DM and more	16	73	11	142
No answer	6	46	48	52
<u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u>				
Very active	17	77	6	52
Somewhat active	10	76	14	230
Remainder	8	64	28	515
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper classes	23	63	14	35
Upper middle classes	14	68	18	207
Lower middle classes	7	71	22	437
Lower classes	6	58	36	118
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	8	73	19	86
25 to 34 years	9	70	21	180
35 to 44 years	7	71	22	166
45 to 54 years	14	64	22	176
55 years and over	7	64	29	189
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	13	74	13	128
CDU/CSU	12	68	20	260
FDP	10	83	7	30
Other parties	10	68	22	60
No party	5	68	27	186
No answer	6	59	35	133
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	33	54	13	24
Businessmen	13	71	16	64
White-collar workers	15	71	14	86
Skilled laborers	12	73	15	113
Semi-skilled laborers	8	80	12	88
Domestic service	-	70	30	23
Farmers, farmhands	2	70	28	55
Housewives	5	61	34	228
Not employed; pensioners; retired	9	67	24	116

® Determined by political and organizational participation.

(Cont'd on next page)

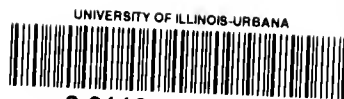
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	<u>For it</u>	<u>Against it</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	12%	61%	27%..100%	378
Protestants	6	75	19	392
Other/no religion	15	66	19	27
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	10	63	27	629
Expellees, refugees	6	86	8	168
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig Holstein, Hamburg,				
Bremen	8	81	11	63
Lower Saxony	7	70	23	154
North Rhine/Westphalia	10	70	20	211
Hesse	5	75	20	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	3	63	34	35
Wuerttemberg/Baden	9	63	28	110
Bavaria	14	60	26	148

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